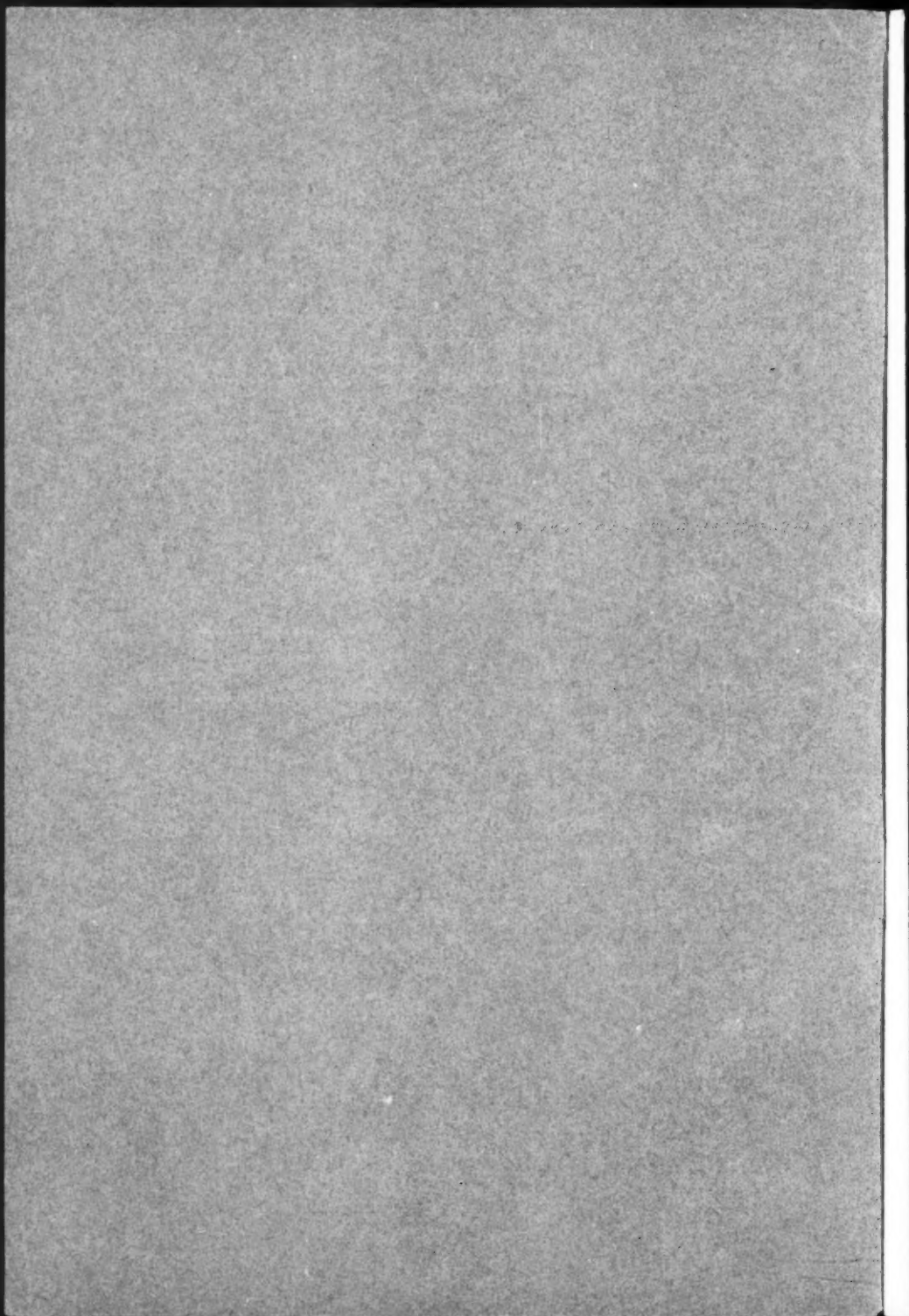


PRIMITIVE MAN

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PRIMITIVE MAN

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INFANT LIFE IN YÜANLING

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INTRODUCTION

YÜANLING is one of the largest cities in Northwestern Hunan, China, a city which a learned Chinese scholar tells us is famed for its black magic. Hunan itself was the last of the provinces of China to permit the entrance of foreigners and was foremost in the anti-foreign propaganda before the Boxer Rebellion. Hunan is still spoken of among the Chinese themselves as the place of savages, of barbarians, the place whence come the fierce fighters. The aged missionary bishop, Monsignor Carbarjal, is authority for the statement that not two hundred white people have to date visited the hinterland of Northwest Hunan.

After the present writer had mastered the native language well enough to understand and make himself understood, his missionary and medical work brought him into close daily contact with parents and children, on his rounds through the city streets and elsewhere. Incidentally thereto he began to pick up sundry information regarding native infant life. One day he decided to write this up. After making the first draft he brought it to

Sister Finan, who had managed a large hospital in the United States for seventeen years before coming to Yüanling and who had had a dozen or more years of medical practice in Yüanling. She gave additional information from her own long experience and from what she had been told by Theresa T'wan, one of the school teachers, of middle age, who lives in Yüanling. The manuscript was then re-written and every item was checked carefully by Sister Finan and Theresa, and was further checked and verified in every detail through consultation by them with old and young women of the city who were friendly to them.

The present paper deals first with the prenatal period, then with birth and its observances, and finally with the first years of the infant's life.

A. THE PRENATAL PERIOD

Babies are given to parents, not by storks, but by the gods and goddesses who have control of this matter. There are hundreds of them to whom appeal can be made and who have babies to give away, if you stand in their good graces. There are many other deities, too, who can prove useful in case difficulty arises about getting a baby into the home. The favorite friend of the childless wife or of the boy-poor family is Kwan-yin. She is a very maternal-looking divinity, whose statue can be seen in every temple of this city and whose image on paper or in wood or clay is honored in most homes. In fact, among the wedding presents one of the most common is an image of Kwan-yin, which is set up close to the bridal bed during the marriage festivities.

The other deities who supply babies have greater or smaller clienteles, depending on whether babies follow upon the appeals of their devotees. Where such appeals are followed by births, there occurs a rush of clients to the shrine of the favorite deity. Among the major temples of this city there are at least three shrines erected to deities who are besought for babies. One of these shrines is the most remarkable in the city, for it is kept extraordinarily clean. It is in charge of Buddhist nuns, and on festival days the doors are open to those who wish to visit the home of Kwan-yin.

One need not live long in the interior of China to become aware that certain things, if possessed of the quality of age, are treated with veneration. To this class of things belong trees, and if they are very old the idea may arise in some minds that they are the dwelling places of spirits. Less than fifteen years ago there was still growing in Yüanling a Chae Goh Si, in the branches of which two fighting cocks had once staged a battle royal. A certain woman reputed for her knowledge of matters relating to the other world told a friend of hers that she was convinced, on account of this incident, that this tree had a spirit in it which had the power of obtaining male children. The news spread like wildfire. Women came bearing the customary offerings to the spirits,—josh sticks, candles, paper money, wine, and so forth. Among those who now flocked to the place, some later gave birth to boys. Word of this spread and thus attracted many more devotees to this marvelous tree. This went on for three or four years. The men folk, not so pious, began to complain of the waste of money on the votive offerings. One day the head of the city rode out to the tree, saw for himself what was going on, and at once ordered wood to be stacked against the trunk of the tree and a fire to be kept burning around it till the tree should be destroyed. Thus did man dispose. Woman, however, has since then discovered another tree near the river bank opposite Yüanling, and here the wives make their prayers and offerings for a baby boy.

Details as to how the spirits obtain and retain their "corner" on the infant market cannot be clearly ascertained from even the most elderly of the Yüanling women. However, it is known, or at least most women can tell you, that Chu-sheng-Niang-Niang has a special friend, Yen-wang, the master of the Buddhist Hades, and when the souls there have been sufficiently restored in vigor, he hands them over to her for distribution. Chu-sheng-Niang-Niang can then present them to her friends and admirers; the more josh sticks, the better is the chance of getting a good healthy boy.

How do the babies get to Yüanling? If we may judge from the pictures, the spirit comes aboard a pink, white or blue cloud

or astraddle a phoenix or unicorn, and thus riding delivers the baby. When Tschang Kouo Lau is the spirit benefactor, he brings the baby by donkey-back, plodding his way sure-footedly up from Hades. The phoenix is decked out in gorgeous colors in the pictures. The unicorn has the body of a deer, the feet of a horse, the tail of an ox, and a single horn with a fleshy tip in the center of his forehead.

The women of Yüanling know well how best to appeal to the baby-giving spirits. The ritual of josh sticks, red candles and paper money is well known to them. What kind of wine and how much rice to offer on the various occasions is a part of "what every wife should know". And should occasion warrant such an expenditure, the women will find a way to obtain the extraordinary gifts of cloth and votive decorations called for, if they have strong enough personal motives for indulging in such an unusual display of devotion.

In order to have a son, some women will even promise to dedicate him to the deity if she will be blessed with a male infant. The beneficent deity, after having duly delivered over the boy baby, will receive offerings in proportion to the treasury of the family and the name of the child will be inscribed at the shrine of the deity's image. The enrolling of the name of the baby at the shrine signifies that the youngster has been offered as had been promised. Some wives promise merely that the child will wear the livery of a Buddhist monk for a stated length of time; it is the more well-to-do women who resort to this means of winning the deity's favor.

The use of certain herbs and concoctions is also resorted to by some women desirous of pregnancy. One of the whispered secrets of women is the prescription of drinking the urine of a young boy; although this means of obtaining a boy baby is really used by some of the more ignorant women, foreigners, for obvious reasons, seldom hear it spoken of.

After the baby has been brought to Yüanling, it has still to be carried during gestation and to be born. Once the woman knows a child is on the way, she does not curb her work or smoking, but of course the coming event gives her some concern. There are special deities who can be helpful during this time, if

they want to be. She can get a message written by a monk that will instruct the spirits what they are to do and what they are not to do as regards this particular baby. She can buy from a Taoist priest a charm which other women have used with success. She may wear certain old coins that are reputed to be efficacious. She can drink a liquid into which have been received the falling ashes from one of the paper charms burned over it. She can wear a mirror or have it set up over her bed or near a window in her house, so that approaching evil spirits, gazing at their ugly visages, will slink away in shame, and so be prevented from carrying out their malicious intents against the welfare of the child. She can hang a piece of ginger root on the door of her room, as this too has salutary merits, for she has heard ample testimony in this regard from other women. All these means and many others may be pressed into service to help add a new branch to the family tree.

The placing of the "golden-lily-foot shoes", miniature embroidered bound-foot shoes, before a statue of Kwan-yin or of other baby-bringing spirits is an almost defunct custom in Yüanling. On rare occasions only does a tiny bound-foot-style shoe appear before a shrine. As a rule, the women of this city no longer strive to keep their feet within the four-inch limit from toe to heel, as their grandmothers used to do.

Naturally the expectant wife is very curious to know whether the baby will be a fine boy or merely a girl. Just how curious she will be will depend on how much the family needs a boy. Curiosity will be especially acute if her husband has not previously had the thrill of running around to his chums and boasting what a husky son he has just been presented with. To sate her curiosity the woman in all probability will seek an answer to her questions from the fortune tellers. In Yüanling very many seers and interpreters of signs can be found along the main street. For the modest fee of 200 cash she can learn the truth months before the widwife will know it. If a few days later she doubts the prophecy she can consult another fortune teller, for 200 cash is not much money. There are 7200 cash to a Mexican dollar, and this latter varies in value in relation to ours from two and a half for one up to five for one.

Here are just some of the taboos the expectant mother must observe during gestation. Don't go to places where silkworms are being raised; for as silkworms are smothered in their cocoons, it is to be feared that the child in the womb may suffer a similar fate. Don't let another pregnant woman enter the room where you are, lest in some mysterious way a conflict arise about the date of the births, and thus harm befall the infant. Don't let any one wearing ting-hai, wet-weather shoes, or rubbers come into your room, as that would be bad josh. Should the family wonk, the brother to one of our highly fancied chows, rest its head on the threshold of the front door while sleeping, the part of the door thus affected must be hastily hacked away to destroy the evil influence that may affect the baby about to enter the house.

B. BIRTH

When the pangs begin to announce the near approach of birth, the midwife is summoned to assist the mother and child. Midwives are as plentiful in Yüanling as good doctors are scarce. Almost every elderly woman can preside at a birth, whereas there is not even one foreign-trained doctor in the city. The so-called doctors, men who have never been to any medical school as we understand the term and who rely upon a personal study of a few writings and upon their knowledge of herbs, are not called in maternity cases. The fees of midwives vary from a seventh of a Mexican dollar up to twenty Mexican dollars, plus whatever presents the family may care to bestow. In case of emergency the female foreign missionary may be called in to assist.

When the midwife reaches the door of the house, she stamps her right foot three times on the ground to drive away the evil spirits. Then instead of proceeding to her patient, she sits down to drink tea. When she is sure that the presentation of the head is near, she, with the other women folk who are in the house, worship at the household shrine.

The Yüanling mother, in the characteristic Chinese mode of parturition, squats over one of the heavy cylindrical wooden wash tubs placed on the floor. These tubs look as if they had been made by sawing off the top of a wine cask about seven inches

from the top, but as a matter of fact they are made in the form in which they are seen in the homes. Very fortunately any but a head presentation is rare. The midwife receives the child and lays it in the tub. Should there be a breech presentation, there is nothing to be done, other than to invoke the gods and goddesses or to get a monk to write an order demanding that there be a rearrangement of the presentation by the spirits.

Usually the first attention the baby gets is to have the mucus deposits removed from its mouth, for if these be swallowed the child, it is believed, will be an idiot. Then about five inches of the umbilical cord are tied off and severed with the edge of a piece of broken cup. This cup is smashed just before the cutting edge is needed, so it will be clean; the practice shows that the people have some idea of the hazard of infection from soiled cutting instruments. The use of a knife for cutting the umbilical cord is taboo, as this is bad josh. If in the birth the cord is found around a girl baby's neck, this is a sign that later in life the girl will hang herself.

Attention having been given to the cord, the child is then presented to the mother so that she may lick the infant's eyes with her tongue (an operation which is repeated each morning for the next thirty-nine days), and the baby's eyes are bathed with a strong solution of tea. Whatever virtue there is in the mother's tongue action on the eyes, other than the removal of a film or excretion around the eyelids, is not apparent. But the tea has been made with boiling water, which in cooling has an acid content.

T'ung Yu, an oil made from the seeds of the *Aleurites cordata* which is indigenous to this part of Hunan and which is now being grown in our own South, is then rubbed on at least those parts of the infant that may have become chafed. Brown paper made from bamboo pulp, some of which paper is quite as fine as good United States tissue paper, may be placed over the umbilical cord and may be used as a diaper. The binders may be of black, blue or white cotton, such as is used for most of the under and outer clothing of the people of the district. Then many babies are packed in cotton wadding, sometimes fitted into the shape of a teddy. A baby comforter, called a baby's *pukai*,

is then wrapped around the infant, who is now ready to be carried to the bed and there to rest in the crook of its mother's arm.

The placenta of the first-born is frequently carried off by the midwife, either to be sold or to be kept for the use of her friends. This is considered to have value in the treatment of tuberculosis. Hence it is dried and kept until the concoction is to be brewed for the consumptive to drink. How much the drug stores will pay for this is not known, as the practice has the marks of an occult remedy. The placenta of other than a first-born child is sometimes planted close to the end of one of the upright supports of the house, so that, later, other babies may grow into the household. If the construction of the house prevents the planting near the uprights, the placenta may be placed between the roots of a tree for the same purpose. Otherwise the placenta may be simply buried in a convenient spot or else burned.

Should a boy baby urinate at birth or immediately after, this is an omen that either the parents will not live to see him reach maturity or else that he will die very early in life. To "break", as they say, the evil omen, a knife is seized and used to scatter the urine around the room.

If a baby is born with a caul over its face, this is an omen that an older member of the family will soon die. To offset this, some red cloth of cotton texture used as a curtain to screen the face of some of the goddesses at their shrines on days when there is no festival, is at once promised to a certain deity. If the family is too poor to afford this, then some josh sticks, costing about 200 cash per bundle, or some red candles, costing 200 cash per pair, or some paper money,—ordinary brown paper similar to that formerly used by our meat markets for wrappers, cut in oblong shape four by eight inches, having designed perforations and costing about twenty cents (Mexican dollar) per pound,—or some rice or wine or meat, is promised for the shrine of the deity.

If the baby is found suffering from thrush,—small white ulcers in the mouth,—the remedy is to apply very old black ink to the spots with a piece of black cloth. The idea back of this

is: treat by opposites; the ulcers are white, the black will remove the white.

Should the baby fail to cry as soon as it is born, the center of a bamboo basket is beaten while the father's name is being called. When the father answers the call outside the delivery room, the baby should begin to cry.

In some cases where the child is still-born or dies soon after birth and where moreover several preceding children have thus died, the infant corpse is mutilated so that it will not return again to fool the parents. Not so long ago, an infant who was the eleventh in the same family to die thus, was put in a coffin that was a trifle longer than the body. The father ordered the corpse to be stretched a little so that the fit would be exact. Then the lid was quickly nailed on, with the admonition: "Now don't you dare try coming back to us again, for you have fooled us enough already". In such cases the same child is thought to be returning again and again.

The birth of twins is not extraordinary in Yüanling, but triplets constitute an event that gets special newspaper publicity. In 1934, the birth of quintuplets was reported in another Province. If the report was true, that was an event deserving to be placed in the annals of the country at large, provided most of the newcomers were boys. If they should be all girls, similar to the quadruplets reported born in Kiangsi (cf. "Asia," 1934, p. 126) when the mother was ashamed to death, the women are not likely to venerate her. In case five boys were to be born on one and the same occasion, it is not at all improbable that some women in the mother's locality would consider her, at least after her death, as a baby-bringing deity, for other women who have been noteworthy in their connection with births have been raised to shrines as beings to be prayed to for offspring.

What about infanticide? Even in the United States, a complete record of all the infanticides can not be compiled, for obvious reasons. In Yüanling there is no bureau recording births and deaths. There is an official who acts as coroner in certain cases of death, but it is not likely he would be informed

in cases of infanticide. Wherefore, there are no reliable statistical data on this matter. It is true that the last census for Greater Yüanling shows that there are some thousands more boys than girls. It is likewise true that in most cases women want to have boys. It is true, too, that a woman who has given birth only to girls is filled with dismay or worse. And it is not untrue that if a woman gave birth to a malformed infant, especially if it at all approximated to a "monster", there might be a strong impulse to end its life at once. But as no one is obliged to report deaths of infants, and as the mother, if she has been the cause of her child's death, is not likely to broadcast the fact, how is anyone to know about the number of infanticides?

The mere fact that there are a great many more boys than girls recorded in the census does not oblige us to infer that female infanticide has occurred on a large scale, for it is a well-known fact that the Chinese parent if asked, "How many children have you?" is apt when replying to mention only the sons. If pressed to tell if there are any girls in the household, possibly the parent may tell the exact number, but as the admission of a plurality of girls will scarcely bring credit to the family, a parent may easily and conveniently forget the true number, and if an official record were the object of the inquiry would the truth be likely to be told? It must be admitted that fewer girls than boys are to be seen in the streets; but little girls are more apt to be kept in the house and off the streets. And despite the notion entertained by not a few Americans, the foreign residents of the city of Yüanling rarely ever see a baby corpse among the weeds on top of the city wall, or along the river bank, or in an out-of-the-way corner of a back alley; and even in these instances where such might be found, the only thing that is certain about the gruesome find is that here is a dead baby, not necessarily a baby that had been left to die of exposure and starvation. Only during famine years were babies abandoned alive. Perhaps, if the exact figures could be obtained on the incidence of infanticide in Yüanling and these were compared with those from an equally large city in the

United States, a comparison favorable to the Chinese city might result.

When a family is too poor to support another child, the baby may be given away, the girl to any family who wants such, and the boy to a relative if this can be arranged. Sometimes the missionaries receive infants of both sexes for their orphanages. The girl babies given to non-relatives are reared to be slaves in some instances, for despite the Nanking statutes, girl slavery does exist to some extent in Yüanling. A widow marrying a second time may have to part with all her children, if her new husband will not take her children for his own; only the older girls will be sold; one of eight years might bring \$20.00 (Mexican dollars), one of twelve years, \$40.00, \$50.00 or even \$60.00.

C. THE BABY'S FIRST YEAR

There is an ancient Yüanling tradition that for the first month after birth, a baby is unclean, unholy, a filthy thing. No one other than the mother and her attendant should be allowed to see it, and for this purpose, it is covered with a large piece of cotton cloth, lest someone passing the birth room might accidentally glimpse it. If while the mother slumbers, a thoughtless child should take the infant to a neighbor's house to display the new arrival, the other house would be considered defiled and would have to be purified, lest evil afflict the home; the ceremony of vaporizing vinegar would suffice to ward off the curse. Yet not all families are rigorists in this; instead of the father observing the taboo of remaining outside the room where the mother is quarantined during this month, and inquiring daily through the closed door as to the welfare of his new son, his curiosity may get the better of him even on the day of birth as well as on the succeeding days of the month; such a father will be apt to see more of his son during the first thirty days, than do most fathers in the United States.

1. THE THIRD DAY

The third day after birth is a great event in the baby's life. On this day the ceremonial first bath takes place; on the occasion of this bath, many other things happen in Yüanling. It is said

that formerly the baby did not get any bath till the third day. But now in many homes at least, the baby is given a partial bath in warm water even on the first day. Soap is not a commodity in this city and so without the aid thereof the Yüanling baby gets its start in life. This bath should take place in front of a representation of one of the baby-giving deities, before which josh sticks fume and red candles flicker.

Immediately after the bath a piece of red string (red color is calculated to win the support of the deities and to ward off evil-intentioned spirits) with an ancient coin attached is tied around each wrist of baby, so that its life will not escape through the manual extremities. Practically every family would be afraid to omit this custom. And it is the rule rather than the exception for the ankles to be treated similarly to the wrists, lest life escape through the pedal extremities.

On the third day too, a tiny jacket is put on the baby. To this jacket, at the nape of the neck, there has been sewn a one-inch-red-cloth triangle that will be close to the base of the child's skull. The purpose of this is to insure the possession of a good mind when the child develops. Nearly every family uses this brain-developer, although somehow or other, it is not uniformly effective.

It is on the third day too that the baby discovers what his mother's milk tastes like. Before this day he has not even so much as one drop of it. A wet-nurse takes the mother's place up to this time.

Next among the events for the third day comes the "Monk's Hat". It is a cap made of cloth and covering the whole skull. It gets its name from its resemblance to the head dress of some temple dwellers. This is worn for two months; then it is supplanted by another head-covering about which a few words will be said later. Girl as well as boy babies get a Monk's Hat.

Yet another experience comes on this momentous third day. When the first baby of a new family is reported to have arrived safely, it is the custom for the maternal grandmother to send the baby a cradle and a baby-*pukai* (the small edition of the covering which adults use in sleeping). The cradle has wooden rockers between which rests a neatly woven bamboo basket

shaped like a bath-tub. Frequently there are designs interwoven and a few fixings attached. But the baby is not put in the cradle till the third day after his birth; until this time he remains beside the mother on her bed. A picture framed in many door-ways during the day time is a woman keeping a cradle in motion with one foot while her immediate attention is focused on some family task.

It is the practice in Yüanling to assign a name to the baby on the third day. To be sure, as soon as the newcomer enters the house, the family name belongs to it; and the baby at once acquires the designation, "The First", "The Second", or "The Eleventh", according to the order of its arrival in the family. In common, too, with every newborn baby the newest arrival has the soubriquet of "Mao-erh" (The Hairy One) as well as "Hsiao-erh" or "Hsiao-nieur" (The Little One). The special name assigned on the third day is known as the "Milk Name" with which the child will be tagged for many years within the sacrosanct walls of the household and which may be used by relatives even after the child has reached maturity. It is the father who names the child, and not the mother.

Sometimes the milk name is very pleasing and such as any child would be proud to own for use in the house—for example, "Peace," "Love," "Bright-Happiness," "Happiness-Bringer," "Double-Happiness," for boys, and "Winter-Sister" "Spring-Flower", "Fourfold Happiness," for the opposite sex. But sometimes the milk name is not flattering and yet is worn smilingly within the confines of the home—for example, "Little-Beggar," "Little Monk", "Calf," "Puppy," "Big Dog" for boys, and "Slave-Girl" or "Magpie" for girls. A Yüanling parent would not label his boy "Slave-girl", whatever be the practice elsewhere in China. In giving such ugly names the parent intends to fool the malign spirits who might wish to harm the child if they had any intimation of how precious it is. The child with the fine name is more exposed to the molestation of evil spirits who seek to harm little children. It is well to remember that the milk name is used, as a rule, only by members of the household.

Later when the child goes to school, it will be given a "School Name," which will be used by those outside the household until some other event calls for the acquisition of still another name. When girl babies are a few months old, the father or mother gives her a "Flower Name", viz., the name of a flower. Of course when the child goes to school, it may acquire a nickname, for the Yüanling children, like most Chinese children, have a penchant for inventing such names to designate their classmates. Here are a few samples: "Fatty", "Shorty", "Slowpoke", "Crybaby", "Fathead", "Monkey", "Froggy", "Scar-face", "Red-eye", "Pock-face", "Bignose", "Littlenose", "Long-ears", "Bighead", "Littlehead", "Longfoot", "Crookedneck", "Gimpy", "Deafy". By the time the individual reaches the grandfather stage, he may have acquired over a dozen reputable names, as well as quite a few others not so reputable. Girls as a rule accumulate very few nice names, and very few if any of the not-so-nice ones.

On the third day there must be a sacrifice of a full-grown rooster, in homage to the family ancestors and perhaps to the family's favorite among the baby-giving spirits. If the family does not already possess a rooster, one must be bought. The sacrifice of the fowl is to be done by a friend of the father. It is killed by drawing a sharp knife across its throat. It is then cooked and served to the family and friends. A banquet is served to all except the mother, who almost as soon as her "labor" is over goes on an egg diet for a couple weeks. Some women will consume as many as a dozen and a half eggs per day.

2. THE FIRST HAIR CUT

The next important date for the infant as well as legitimate excuse for the father to indulge in at least a few drinks is the ceremony of the first hair cut. A lucky day must be selected for the occasion. And so a geomancer is sought in order to determine what day between the twenty-fifth and thirtieth day since birth is a lucky one. Happy is the father if the date is close to the twenty-fifth, for he does not have to wait more than the minimum time to have his drinks. If the baby is a

boy the barber is summoned and the hair-cutting takes place before the ancestral tablets. The razor is scraped all over the head except at the base of the skull where a small patch of hair is left to make sure that the child will have brains. Girls should have the operation done before the image of one of the goddesses. The hair-cutting over, the razor is properly sheathed, the ancestors of the family are ritually revered, and thanksgiving is rendered to the beneficent gods or goddesses. Then comes an appropriate feast with all that goes with it.

3. THE FORTIETH DAY

On the fortieth day after birth, another event takes place in the family. Formerly a religious ceremony, more or less elaborate in proportion to the faith and the purse of the parents, was the outstanding feature of the day. The celebration was called "Passing Out the Door", in commemoration of mother and child coming out of seclusion and entering into communication with the rest of the world. But in Yüanling, the religious celebration has fallen into desuetude, and the significance of the day is to be found in the fact that today mother and child start off on a visit to the mother's mother. If this grandmother is now numbered among the ancestors, then the visit is to the home of mother's father. If he too is dead, the visit is made to the mother's oldest brother. At any rate, the baby is on this day scheduled to greet its mother's folks if she has any. As a result the baby may be absent from home for three days and perhaps as many as ten.

For the trip, the baby is apt to be dressed as gayly as the parents can afford. If the parents can possibly afford them, their offspring will be arrayed in brilliant silks. In all probability the baby will have a Lucky Collar, Lucky Bracelets, Lucky Anklets and a Lucky Padlock. The donning of these paraphernalia in cases where the family has considerable means may be for ornamentation as well as for protection of life and for preservation against malign influence from the evil spirits. If the baby is very healthy, there is less chance of his getting all these ornaments. In poorer families this is especially true;

in fact, the poorer families may give none of these trinkets to baby unless it is a weakling, for such people incur the expense for the baby only when it is felt that their use cannot be overlooked lest harm come to the child.

The *Lucky Collar* has for its chief purpose the retention of the life of the child within the body, by closing off a possible escape of life through the capital extremity. The collar consists of a band of metal, most often wire-like, which if straightened along a yard stick would total about eighteen inches. The wealthy child may have a collar of gold, but the most commonly seen variety is of silver. The metal is fashioned into circular shape to fit the neck of the wearer. It is worn something like a stiff necklace, having just a little less circumference than the head of the child. The part of the collar that is worn at the spine has a piece overlapping, allowing the collar to be adjusted as the child advances in years; this portion is enclosed in little bands to keep the overlapping parts together; not infrequently all this section is covered with red-colored string tightly wound to prevent the child from removing the collar and to forestall attempts by thieves to quickly slip the collar over the head of the child and to make away with it. Sometimes the poorer folk give their child only a thin wire collar of silver; this easily assumes kinks and unsightly bends. But not infrequently the frontal part is flattened into crescent shape or pounded into rectangular form, and usually has flowery designs traced on it. A trinket of the same metal sometimes dangles from a chain attached thereunto.

Though in the course of childhood almost everyone can be expected to own one of these Lucky Collars the school children at least are without them. However, sometimes a husky youth in his later teens may be seen sporting his long used Lucky Collar. But Lucky Collar or no Lucky Collar, practically two-thirds of the babes and children die before attaining their seventh year.

The *Lucky Bracelets* frequently are placed on infants on the fortieth day, though these and the other similar charms may not be acquired till a later date. The purpose of these bracelets

is the same as that of the string tied around the wrists of the babe, namely, to prevent escape of life through the manual extremities. Silver is the ordinary material of these charms, though the more wealthy may use gold. Sometimes the silver is unadorned, but more frequently it is chased. Often three or four bits of chain, about three or four inches in length, are suspended from the bracelets and to the ends are attached tiny ornaments in the form of bells, fishes, peanuts, snails, rabbits and drum sticks which jingle with the movement of the wrist.

The *Lucky Anklets* are of like construction and of the same material, and are used for the similar purpose of preventing escape of life through the pedal extremities.

The *Lucky Padlock and Chain* may be strung at the baby's neck on the fortieth day, or later if the baby is not obviously too healthy. This is a much used device. In appearance it is somewhat like an extra large medal which a Catholic mother might suspend from the neck of her child. The Yüanling mother is convinced that the device she appends to the child's neck has the merit of locking and chaining the child to life. The ornament is ordinarily a piece of silver at least the size of the handbag-mirror of our women, but it is usually less than the thickness of a dime. In its original form, there was some sort of resemblance to a padlock; but in the form in which it is usually seen along the streets of Yüanling, the foreigner would have to be told that he is looking at a padlock. Undoubtedly economy has effected this change of using a representation of a padlock instead of the thing itself. Only once in a great while can there be seen a full padlock fashioned from silver. The padlock is ordinarily ornamented with engravings. The child is expected to wear it at least till the sixth birthday is passed. Formerly parents could get boys to wear it till they were twelve, but the present generation wants to be rid of the jewelry much earlier.

A variation of this padlock is the "Hundred Family Padlock". This is supposed to have greater efficacy than the ordinary one. It is purchased with a collection of money obtained from one hundred families. It has engraved on it the characters informing all with eyes to see that this is a "Hundred Family Padlock".

Both forms of padlock, the ordinary and the "Hundred Family," may have in addition the figure of one of the deities traced on one side of it.

When the baby and its mother return from their visit, there is much jubilation, and a feast is spread for the guests of the occasion.

4. MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS

In Yüanling, as well as elsewhere in China, there obtains the practice of pseudo-adoption called "dry-adoption". In cases where parents have seen their children die one after another, recourse is had to this means of preserving the life of a child. A close friend of the hapless couple enters into agreement with them in an effort to save the child from what seem to be conspiring evil influences. The friend chosen is one who is blessed with many living children. The idea motivating this immemorial usage is the deception of the evil spirits who are thereby led to think that the adopted child belongs to the family which enjoys comparative immunity and thus the adopted child may share therein. The baby receives the name of the adopters as well as retaining its own family name; but this method of adoption does not confer or transfer any civil or material rights; the pseudo-adoption does not even take the child from its own home.

The ceremony of adoption may take place during the first year of the baby's life or even later in childhood. On the appointed day, lucky-baby-bracelets and anklets, two pairs of shoes, a lucky collar, a bowl, fish, meat, wine, sugar and so forth, are sent to the adopting family. Then the two families join with their friends in a banquet. At the conclusion of this, the adopting family sends to their pseudo-foster-child a cap, cloth, lucky collars, bracelets, child's-size rice-bowl, chopsticks, flower-embroidered shoes, and four trays each containing two dozen patty-cakes with red coloring in them. Thus takes place the dry adoption. The people of Yüanling also resort to real adoption in certain cases where relatives have no sons or where poverty compels such an action.

Somewhat akin to the dry-adoption is the *Earring Trick* for fooling those spirits whose *raison d'être* is the harassing of babies and children. Parents who have now an only boy, the other children having died, and who fear for his future, go to a friend who has many children and beg an earring from one of the little girls. The purpose of this trick is to deceive the malicious ones into thinking that this child is a girl belonging to the other family. This practice is quite the vogue and some wear the earring even after they are twenty years old. The wearing of earrings in babyhood is not however the general practice. Girls about two or three years old acquire such ornaments, which are usually of silver artistry.

There are numerous other magico-religious practices which the Buddhist and Taoist monks press into service for curing sick babies as well as for warding off evil spirits. There are charms, amulets and talismans of various materials and shapes, that must be used in such and such a way and on such and such a day, if the full efficacy of the same is to be realized. Both the givers of these articles of devotion and the users thereof are in real earnest and trust in their power.

In Yüanling, said to be famous for its practice of black magic, there is a custom interesting to foreigners, as well as lucrative to those making a specialty of it. It is of Taoist origin. A Taoist priest sauntering leisurely along the street and noticing a baby in a mother's arms will with something like overpowering inspiration stop and convey the idea that within a short time the baby will start forth on the long journey to its ancestors. But, if the baby only had around its neck one of the Taoist "Eight-Diagrams" hectagonal medallions, sufficient protection against the wicked spirit now on the trail of this babe would be had. In cases where the child already has some imperfection or indisposition and the aid of a Taoist priest is sought, the wearing of one of these devil-chasers is considered ample safeguard for the baby's life.

The rambler along the streets of Yüanling will often observe a baby with one or more ancient brass or copper coins strung around its neck. This is done for the protection of sickly chil-

dren. A red cord usually supports the coins as an added influence. Poorer families not able to afford the padlock will utilize this cheaper substitute.

It is the custom in many families, when the baby's ninth or tenth month has been reached, to attempt teaching the child to walk. A wide band of cloth passed around its chest and under its armpits is held by the mother in back of the child; the child inclines forward and advances with little weight on its feet due to the contraption that is being used. One of the other members of the family is on hand for these first steps and awaits with a cleaver similar to what our butchers use, so that when the toddler puts one leg forward for the first step of its life, a chop with the cleaver is made between the baby's legs. This is called "cutting the cords of the feet". Sometimes instead of chopping between the legs, the area around the struggling toddler is cleaved. This is supposed to facilitate the lessons in walking and to act as a preventive measure against stumbling and falling. When the baby can stand on its own feet, then the father and mother can be seen making the same gestures as American parents make when they want to coax a youngster to risk a few unaided steps. Rarely is a bowlegged child seen.

When some of the children of the better-to-do classes reach the age of one year, they wear a miniature of the gown worn by the local monks. Others wear what is known as "The Hundred Family Dress"; this is a regular Joseph's coat of many colors, for it is formed of a hundred pieces of cloth begged from a hundred different families. This like the gown of the bonze is worn to ensure seasonable help from the beings of the unseen but very real world. The contributors to the patchwork coat all consider the child in some way their own.

Another of the "One Hundred Class" is the "String of the Hundred Families." A piece of string is obtained from each of a hundred families and these pieces are made into a tassel, which is worn by the child. This too is a health preserver.

The Yüanling mother does not try to raise a crop of curls on her baby's head. Instead, most mothers keep the baby's scalp brightly bald, except for a patch somewhere according to her

individual fancy. A rather common patch is a rectangular one, extending from the middle of the scalp and over the brow for about two inches by four. Another is the so-called "peach", supposed to resemble a peach, one of the Chinese symbols of longevity. Girl infants sometimes have only a circular patch on the top of the skull, the longer strands of which are gathered together close to the scalp by a few twists of red string causing the hair to stand more or less upright; this style is called, "mah-t'ung kai" from a fancied resemblance to a well known bucket used in every family; just as the contents of this bucket facilitate vegetative growth, so also the wearer of this style hair will later have an abundance of lengthy strands. Another style for a girl is the "swah-bah"; the hair of the infant girl is gathered in several small bunches that are tied off with red string; because of the fancied similarity to the wide thick hand-broom the "swah bah", it is hoped that the girl will later have hair as thick and plentiful as the new Chinese broom has wisps of straw.

Elsewhere, we have made mention that in Yüanling, the baby got the Monk's hat on the third day after birth; it is the practice for the baby to wear this for two months. When the time limit is up, should the weather be cool or wintry, the mother will try to get for her child a "Dog's Head Bonnet". These bonnets come in two styles: one which has a wide and long extension that reaches a third way down the baby's back to protect the neck and upper back from the wind; the other which extends only as far as the American baby bonnet. The colors oftenest seen are red, yellow and black, and the material is ordinarily silk. Flowers of various species are beautifully embroidered all over it. The distinctive features are the two dog ears that stick out in the right places.

Along the sides, in both styles of this bonnet, and down the back in the wind-breaker style, from silver chains there dangle gilded silver rabbits, fishes, peanuts and bells that merrily jingle when the baby moves his head. Around the brow are sewn either medallions or figures of baby-protecting deities. The medallions are sometimes of jade, but most frequently they are

of gilded silver; these sometimes are the Four Characters meaning Happiness, Officer, Longlife, Joy. In the center and occupying a prominent position is usually the figure of Kwan-yin, the lover of children. The figures of deities usually are those of the eighteen lohans or Buddhist saints, the eighteen robbers who reformed and died saints; separating the group into two sets of nine is the figure of Kwan-yin. This bonnet is a joy to all babies. It is wadded and forms a fine protection for the child.

If the season is warmer, then the baby may wear one of the multicolored embroidered bonnets that are similar to the ones American infants wear, except for a center hole on top about the size of a half dollar. And if the weather is very warm, the baby will be hatless or may have an embroidered wide bandeau across its forehead. The poorer baby may have only a "melon-rind" head piece; this is a cap of cloth, which gets its name from its resemblance to a small watermelon halved and gouged out and which can be pretty when done in colored silks instead of in the common dull black cotton cloth. Besides these head coverings not a few babies have foreign stocking caps and whimsical creations that came from heaven knows where.

The baby's shoes are made of cloth, and in most instances are made by the baby's mother. More often than not they are embroidered with brightly colored flowers. The rest of the baby's clothing is adult Chinese dress in miniature. Nevertheless, there are a few other items of dress which are interesting.

Outstanding perhaps is the brilliant red silk cape made in cardinal style; this is heavily wadded and makes the wearer an eye magnet to all around. It must not be forgotten that babies in Yüanling when outside the house are held in arms as a rule and it is probably not a rash judgment that parents and other members of the household get more fun out of parading the cardinalitally dressed baby than does the baby itself.

Striking too to the Occidental is the color of the baby's stockings. Usually they are of cotton dyed murky orange, green or violet, although sometimes they are plain white.

Noteworthy too are the pants that all children wear. The front view is not noteworthy. But the rear elevation from top

to crotch has a parting which while the child is in an erect posture fits together so that there is no sign of nakedness. Let the child's body, however, assume a squatting posture, and automatically and instantaneously there is an ample exposure.

In winter, the infants are dressed in layers upon layers of cotton clothing. When no more sleeved garments can be piled on, others without sleeves are added. Consequently the infants seem to be as broad as they are long. As the weather moderates, the layers are peeled off. And when summer comes, the baby appears in all his glory, sans culotte, and sometimes sans everything.

Chinese babies in Yüanling are best studied in the summer time. Some few are weazened mites but most of them are chubby. Some are as yellow as butter, but many are as white as a Nordic's offspring and remain such till well on in childhood's years. Many are rosy and peachy complexioned and some few are as dark as Cuban brown. Some have retroussé noses; others have flat ones bordering on the negroid type; while still others have pointed ones. The eyes are always black.

One of the advantages the Yüanling baby has over the American baby is that, no matter where he may be at the moment he looses his cry of hunger, his needs will instantaneously be supplied, regardless of place, and even of church services. Yet the foreigner, rambling the streets in summer and observing the dirty, louse-bitten and sometimes scabby breasts supplying the needs of the poorer-class offspring, wonders how any of these infants survive babyhood.

After the first year the baby, besides continuing nursing, begins to eat rice. After the second year, the baby eats two child-size bowls of rice per diem, together with the other food that usually goes with it. Neither cow nor goat milk is used for Yüanling infants; yet the more wealthy people at times get some canned condensed milk for their little ones. In cases where the mother's supply of milk fails, the wet nurse is pressed into service. Cases occur in this city where children of even eight years of age still have two meals daily of wet-nurse milk. The observer will often see a mother who has been masticating

food or who has just been taking some fluids into her mouth, feed her offspring dove-fashion, ejecting the food or liquid from her own mouth into the baby's mouth.

Babies are all too often covered with a skin disease that is called "tswong"; dark reddish sores or blotches first appear and these give way later to brownish spots. A scaly deposit on the scalp is quite common too; this reaches the stage where the head looks as though it had been stuck in a heap of white ashes. Boils on the head are very common, being the rule rather than the exception; the scar tissue resulting therefrom leaves irregular spots which are especially disfiguring even in after years. Death from worms is not infrequent. Malnutrition is prevalent.

One of the never-to-be-forgotten experiences the observer in Yüanling has is to hear a startling high-pitched moan-like woman's cry and turning to see a wonk (the native dog) loping down the street in the direction of the sound. The scavenger licks the bare buttocks of the babe and consumes its excrement.

The Yüanling infant never languishes for want of affection from the parents and other relatives. The loving ones slobber all over the infant's face, wetting its cheeks, and sometimes exchanging saliva with it. Baby is bounced and jounced, cooed and booed at, in the same way as the most petted baby in the United States. The father, mother and grandparents take a special delight in parading the streets with the baby. Friends stop and inquire about how it is getting along, make faces at and overtures to it, and address it in gibberish nothings. Candy, rubber toys and bright playthings are lavished upon the child, though dolls as we know them are practically never seen at Yüanling. The banging of Chinese drums and cymbals makes babies radiate delight. Though the babies who are carried in cradled arms do not seem to get a thrill from the ride, a lively baby of fourteen months riding pickaback with its mother or father or sister seems to have an enjoyable experience. The mites that fill the elongated baskets which women support on their backs by means of straps fitting to the shoulders undoubtedly enjoy themselves at times, although there can be seen,

almost any day, tired and weary sightseeing babies who seem to be nearly asleep.

A non-sickly baby in Yüanling can be as interesting and as full of fun, as any baby ever seen. Some of them have outstanding personalities. They respond to teasing, affection, and jealousy provokers just as much as do infants elsewhere, and can show tempers that are real and hot. They can cry during the night too; but when this happens, the mother is apt to procure from a monk a written charm and to tack it on the outside of the house—which being done, on the following nights not a whimper is supposed to escape from the annoying youngster.

Such is the Yüanling infant, one that could enter competition with infants in any other part of the world with an even chance of winning. At any rate if I know Yüanling parents, they, like parents elsewhere, would not exchange their own children for any who had won a baby contest over here.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE AMONG THE SASKATCHEWAN CREE

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AMONG the Cree of the Île à la Crosse area, Saskatchewan, the children of two brothers or of two sisters are not allowed to marry, while the children of a brother and a sister may very properly marry.

On the occasion when I first learned of this custom, I also obtained some insight into the reason given for it by the Cree themselves. A certain man wanted to marry his son to the daughter of his sister, and had come to me to solicit my good offices in obtaining the girl's hand for his son and in securing her as his own daughter-in-law.

"Up to the present", he said, "we have not been able to persuade her, but if you will speak to her for us perhaps she will consent and say 'Yes'".

"I understand", I said, "I shall speak to her. But in case she does not wish to marry your son, you can perhaps, to marry off your son, ask your brother to let his daughter marry him".

"What!" he exclaimed, sharply and indignantly, "but she is his sister".

The difference between the parallel and cross cousin was that the former was his "sister" and the latter was not. Now I had the key.

Here are the current kinship terms, My elder brother: *nistes*; my elder sister: *nimis*; my younger brother or younger sister: *nisim*. The children of two brothers or of two sisters call each other as follows: (m. s.) my elder male cousin, *nitchiwam*; (m. s.) my elder female cousin, *nimis*; (m. s.) my younger male or female cousin, *nisim*; (w. s.) my elder male cousin, *nistes*; (w. s.) my elder female cousin, *nimis*; (w. s.) my younger male or female cousin, *nisim*. The children of a brother and a sister call each other as follows: (m. s.) my male cousin, *nistaw*; (m. s.) my female cousin, *netim*; (w. s.) my male cousin, *netim*; (w. s.) my female cousin, *nitchakus*. One can see therefore that the children of two brothers or of two sisters call each other

"brother" and "sister," while the children of a brother and a sister call each other by other kinship terms.

Let us continue. A man calls his wife's sister, *netim*, and his wife's brother, *nistaw*. A woman calls her husband's brother, *netim*, and her husband's sister, *nitchakus*. A man also calls his brother's wife *netim*, while a woman calls her sister's husband *netim*.

Further, a man or woman will call his or her "sweetheart" *netimus*, the diminutive of *netim*. This term is however always understood, at least in our district, in a none too savory sense.

Still other kinship terms have a bearing on the question of cross-cousin marriages. A man calls his son, *nikosis*, and his daughter, *nitanis*. A woman uses the same terms for her son and daughter respectively. The terms for nephew and niece are the following: (m. s.) my brother's son, *nitosim*, and my brother's daughter, *nitanis*; (w. s.) my sister's son, *nikosim*, and my sister's daughter, *nitanis*; (m. s.) my sister's son, *nitikwatim*, and my sister's daughter, *nistim*; (w. s.) my brother's son, *nitikwatim*, and my brother's daughter, *nistim*. Thus it is clear that the man uses the term for "daughter" to designate his brother's daughter, while the woman uses the terms for "son" and "daughter" to designate her sister's son and daughter, but they both use quite different terms for their other nephews and nieces.

Finally both for man and for woman speaking, my son-in-law is *nitikwatim*, and my daughter-in-law is *nistim*. These are the same terms as those for man's or woman's cross-nephew and cross-niece. These cross-nephews and cross-nieces are all ready, as it were, to become sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and are welcome as such. They are addressed by the same kinship terms both before and after marriage.

In contrast, a man addresses the son and daughter of his brother as *nitosim* and *nitanis* respectively, the latter being the same term as the one by which he calls his own daughter. A woman likewise addresses the son and daughter of her sister as *nikosim* and *nitanis* respectively, the terms for (w. s.) "son" and "daughter". These parallel nephews and nieces are, as it were, sons and daughters, and siblings do not marry.

One day I had the following conversation with an Indian.

"Why may not a boy marry the daughter of his father's brother?" I asked.

"Because this girl is his sister", he replied.

"May he marry the daughter of his father's sister?"

"Yes".

"What is the reason for this difference between the two cousins?"

"The one is his sister, the other is not: *nisim* and *netim*".

"But his *netim* is his blood relative. How can he marry her?"

"This relationship does not count. She is just as if she were not related to him at all, just like any other girl".

"But nevertheless you cannot deny that in the case of both these girl cousins the blood is the same, coming from the same stock".

"What you say is true".

"Then, once more, why do you distinguish between the two?"

"On account of the relationship. The one seems to us to be a near relative and the other does not seem to be related".

"One more point. Would you rather that your children marry these cousins who do not seem related than strangers not related at all?"

"It makes no difference. We have no preference in the matter. The children can make their own choice according to their own preference".

And so the matter works out in reality. I have many times seen these cross-cousins marry. Actually they do not consider themselves closely related. We missionaries, realizing the problems that arise therefrom, try to dissuade the Indians from contracting marriages with these near relatives, and when we bring up the point the Indians are quite surprised and incredulous. The idea, held by all of them, that there is no relationship in the case is a survival from pagan days. Their pagan ancestors, who were polygynous, used to marry cross-cousins. And today, Christian though these Indians now are, they consider that when taking a wife a man may choose a cross-cousin just as he would a woman not related to him at all by blood.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE AMONG THE CREE AND
MONTAGNAIS OF JAMES BAY

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THE data summarized in the present paper were gathered during visits in 1933, 1935 and 1937 to the several bands of Cree on the West Coast of the Bay and in 1937 to the Montagnais of the East Coast. Investigation in the field was not specifically concerned with cross-cousin marriage, and indeed limitations of time would have prevented a thorough genealogical record-taking such as would have been desirable for a really satisfactory study of the institution. Since, however, the subject of cross-cousin marriage in northern Algonquian culture is of particular current interest, I wish to present merely a few incidentally gathered notes on its occurrence in the James Bay region.

As pointed out by Hallowell in his excellent papers on cross-cousin marriage,¹ the northern Algonquian kinship system would lead one to expect the practice of cross-cousin marriage. Actually, among the James Bay Cree and Montagnais, the same term is used for both [my] father-in-law and mother's brother, *nisis*; for mother-in-law and father's sister, *nisikwás*, *nisikos*; for both son-in-law and cross-nephew, *nihakicim* (Cree), *nihatcem* (Montagnais); for both daughter-in-law and cross-niece, *nihakeneskwe*; for both sibling-in-law of opposite sex and cross-cousin of opposite sex, *nítim*; and among the Montagnais, but not among the Cree, the same term as,—or a derivative thereof,—for cross-cousin of opposite sex is used for "sweetheart" or more correctly "lover" (with not too idyllic a meaning), *nítimus*. For parallel-cousins the same terms are used as for siblings, sometimes with, sometimes without, the addition of an ending like *-kawin*.

¹ ICA 22, 1926, ii, 97-145, and 23, 1928, 519-44; AA, 1932, n.s. 34: 171-99; 25th Anniv. studies, Phila. anthrop. soc., 1937, 95-110.

I shall deal first with the distribution of cross-cousin marriage on the East and West Coasts; secondly with the nature of the institution there; and lastly with the possible factors accounting for its occurrence.

First the distribution,—beginning with the East Coast. My attention was first called to cross-cousin marriage in 1933 by an old white woman, then living at Moose Factory, Mrs. Morrison, who was born at Eastmain and who had lived there the greater part of her life. She was telling me about her children, and mentioned spontaneously without any lead or suggestion at all from me, that after her son had gotten married, an old Indian woman of the Eastmain Montagnais band had come to her and had said: "You are not marrying your son right". Mrs. Morrison was surprised, and asked her what she meant. The old woman replied: "You should have let him marry your brother's daughter. That is the right way to marry". A little questioning of Mrs. Morrison by me soon elicited information, which I was able to check up and verify by various Indian informants, on specific cases of cross-cousin marriage at Eastmain and Rupert's House. Doctor Cooper obtained information on the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage at Fort George, the third and northernmost post on the East Coast. It may be added that I have a statement, although from only one informant, a native of the place, that the same type of marriage occurs among the Montagnais at Waswanipi, up inland from Rupert's House.

As for the West Coast, information from Moose is not so definite, as I was not able to obtain records of specific cases. I was assured by several independent informants that formerly the Moose Cree considered cross-cousin marriage possible, and parallel-cousin marriage taboo. There was some contradiction, however, for one woman told me that in the old days any cousin could marry and nobody thought anything of it. For Albany the information on the existence of cross-cousin marriage there was quite clear and consistent, and one Albany woman whom I interviewed insisted that she knew this form of marriage was common also at Martin Falls on the Albany river about 250 miles upstream from the mouth, in Ojibwa territory, where she had lived for many years with her first husband.

So much for the distribution. Now for the nature of the institution. On both sides of the Bay parallel-cousin marriage was disapproved. On the East Coast at least, it is believed that the children of such a marriage would not live long, and cases were given me to support this belief. In nearly every case of parallel-cousin marriage narrated to me, the marriage was allowed because the male cousin was the putative father of the girl's baby. The following is a typical statement: "Elizabeth married her mother's sister's son, Henry. Elizabeth's mother told her it was not right to marry her mother's sister's son because it didn't look good. She told her it was better to marry her mother's brother's son. But Elizabeth had to marry Henry because their baby was born two months later". While this sort of thing was disapproved, it was not actually condemned as incestuous relations between brother and sister.

From the material I have at hand, it would seem that cross-cousin marriage is or was permissive and slightly preferential. In general, when parents arranged the marriage and agreed that the cross-cousins were suitable mates,—and there was apparently no obligation for the parents to arrange cross-cousin marriages,—the parties were compelled to marry regardless of their own wishes. Several cases were told me where one party or the other was forced into the marriage. While in most of these cases it was said that that the marriage turned out all right eventually, occasionally a marriage of this sort was broken. One woman at Eastmain told me she had a narrow escape. She had known ever since her young girlhood that she was expected to marry her *nitim*. She was afraid of him and did not want to marry him. Her mother and father died before she was grown up, and so she was not forced to marry this cross-cousin. Instead she married a Rupert's House man. Some of the young people objected to marrying cross-cousins because under missionary or other white influence they had come to consider both cross and parallel cousins as closely related to them,—although, as stated previously, the kinship terminology, classifying parallel cousins as own siblings and as different from cross-cousins, is still in use.

For Eastmain the specific cases recorded show cross-cousin marriage of the bilateral type, that is, one may marry either mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter. The information from Rupert's House reveals cross-cousin marriages only with son or daughter of father's sister, but this may well be due to lacunae in the evidence. Dr. Michelson, however, found this unilateral type to prevail at Moose and Atawapiskat on the West Coast, and also at Lake Kaniapiskaw up inland in Labrador from Fort George about 400 miles as the crow flies.² All cases which I obtained refer to marriages of first cross-cousins. One informant stated that second cross-cousins rarely married, but a genealogical study would be necessary to show whether or not cross-cousin marriage was confined to first cross-cousins, as it would be to determine the extent to which cross-cousin marriage prevailed.

To sum up the preceding pages. The kinship system suggests the practice of cross-cousin marriage. We find in the area under discussion that the social institution is in conformity with the kinship terminology. Bilateral, and in some places unilateral, cross-cousin marriage is traditionally permissive and somewhat preferential, without being strictly mandatory. There are men and women living today in the region who have married cross-cousins, but the custom is at the present time dying out.

Finally we come to the factors. As to what factors may have been responsible for the origin and prevalence of cross-cousin marriage among the James Bay Cree and Montagnais, little can be confidently said. There appears to be no reason for attributing the institution to sib organization. These peoples have no trace of a sib system at present, and there is no evidence whatsoever that they ever did have such. Further, there seems to be no question of the preservation of property in the family through cross-cousin marriage. Consequently both the sib factor and the economic factor seem to be barred. It is possible that the custom may have spread by diffusion from Algonquian

² Michelson, personal communication.

areas where the sib system did or does obtain,³ but our evidence does not suggest anything beyond mere possibility.

One other possibility may be proposed, as a very tentative working hypothesis. There is a certain amount of evidence to the effect that the incest taboo, in some cultures at least, is correlated with the rearing and association of close kin under the same roof or in intimate proximity. The correlation seems to be more causal than casual. Now, under what amounts to a patrilocal system, without being technically such, in the north-eastern Canadian region, children of brothers would tend to be reared in close proximity or even at times in the same tepee. Moreover, as the sororate also existed there to some degree, children of sisters were often so reared together. From such close association of parallel-cousins and from the kinship terminology under which siblings and parallel-cousins are called by approximately or exactly the same names, the taboo on their marrying may have arisen. On the other hand, cross-cousins would not ordinarily have been reared together, and actually do not call one another by sibling terms, and so would, from the native viewpoint, be free to marry. This explanation is offered with all due caution, but perhaps even such a tentative explanation is a little better than no explanation at all. It may at least serve as a working hypothesis.

³ Cf. Michelson, *Proc. Nat. acad. sc.*, May, 1916, 2: 297-300.

SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL BOOKS OF 1937

JOHN M. COOPER

THE works included in the following list have been selected from the more important publications of the year 1937 that are suitable for college libraries and for readers interested but not professionally engaged in anthropology. Fuller technical lists are found in the current numbers of such periodicals as the *American Anthropologist*, *Anthropos*, and *Ethnologischer Anzeiger*.

The book of the year,—and perhaps of the decade,—in the present writer's view, is Robert H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory*, Farrar and Rinehart, N. Y., pp. 296. It constitutes our keenest and most balanced critique of the major currents, movements, theories and schools in cultural anthropology, as these have developed during the last hundred years and are now developing, with emphasis on the contemporary ones. It not merely records historically but also evaluates critically all the dominant drifts and approaches in the field of cultural anthropology. It should prove an anthropological vade-mecum for many a day to come.

Three important introductions to cultural anthropology appeared during the year, all of high merit: William I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, McGraw-Hill, N. Y. London, pp. 847; Alexander Goldenweiser, *Anthropology, An Introduction to Primitive Culture*, F. S. Crofts, N. Y., pp. 550; Konrad T. Preuss, ed., *Lehrbuch der Voelkerkunde*, Ferd. Enke, Stuttgart, pp. 446. All three contain excellent selected bibliographies, topically and/or regionally divided. In Goldenweiser and Preuss are chapters on anthropological field methods. Thomas covers chiefly social culture; the other two works cover the general field of culture. In Thomas the sociopsychological standpoint is to the fore. Goldenweiser's work is an outgrowth of his *Early Civilization* (1922), but is in reality so metamorphosed in content that the child can hardly be recognized in the grown man. Preuss's work is a symposium, the various major sections being written by himself, Thurnwald and seven other prominent German

anthropologists. Thomas' extensive quotations make his *Primitive Behavior* also an invaluable source book, and much the same can be said of Goldenweiser's *Anthropology*. In the latter, the author's own views on religion are allowed to creep in at points, thus making a break with a healthy anthropological tradition of keeping anthropology an empirical science.

An outstanding publication of the year in physical anthropology and prehistory is G. G. MacCurdy, ed., *Early Man*, Lippincott, Phila.-N. Y., pp. 362. This consists of papers, abbreviated in the main, read during the International Symposium on Early Man at the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, in March, 1937. These papers discuss the most recent and most significant developments in our study of early man of both the New and the Old World.

Those interested in comparative racial intelligence will find in S. D. Porteus, *Primitive Intelligence and Environment*, Macmillan, N. Y., pp. 325, a wealth of new data on the results of mental tests given to Bushmen of South Africa, Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, Tamils of southern India, Ainu of Japan, and other primitive peoples, although the author's inferences from these data are open to criticism on more scores than one.

Paul Radin's *Primitive Religion, Its Nature and Origin*, Viking Press, N. Y., pp. 322, is well worth looking up, though it does not make, so far as the present writer can see, important new contributions to the problem and does offer some very speculative hypotheses.

Father Wilhelm Schmidt put out two ambitious works: *Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie*, Aschendorff, Muenster in Westfalen, pp. 338, and *Das Eigentum auf den aeltesten Stufen der Menschheit*, Band I, *Das Eigentum in den Urkulturen*, *ibid.*, pp. 343. The former is an explanation and defense of the methodology of the Kulturkreis school, presenting a systematic treatise on the matter. The latter work gathers the scattered data upon and discusses property concepts and usages among some of the peoples of simplest culture.

A work *sui generis* is Julius Lips' *The Savage Hits Back*, Yale University Press, New Haven, pp. 254. The 213 illustrations mostly from aboriginal art, and the author's interesting com-

ments thereon, help us whites to see ourselves as others see us. The native point of view is often neither lacking in humor nor complimentary to the white man!

Among the many excellent tribal or regional descriptive monographs appearing during the year, two of exceptional merit may be singled out: W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization, A Social Study of an Australian Tribe*, Harper, N. Y., London, pp. 594, a field study of the Murngin of northern Australia; I. Schapera, ed., *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, George Routledge, London, pp. 453, a symposium by specialists covering the whole field of race, language, and, more extensively, culture.

Finally attention may be called to a valuable reference work, issued in mimeo format by the National Research Council, D. C.: Marion Hale Britten, ed., *International Directory of Anthropologists*, pp. 303 (\$1.00),—a Who's Who of anthropologists on both sides of the Atlantic.



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